UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

Lord Bryce and Democracy

By CHARLES F. DOLE

Religion in the United States

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Democracy and Individual Freedom

By DAVID STARR JORDAN

Egypt's Awakening

By HARIDAS MUZUMDAR

VOLUME LXXXVIII NUMBER 22

Chicago, February 9, 1922

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

Subscription, $3.00 per Annum

A Journal of the Religion of Democracy

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

UNITY Fellowship

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Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE

Pamphlet Mission

FOR

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER

IN

RELIGION.

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PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

FRANCIS L. ROBERTS, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXVIII. THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1922 NUMBER 22

THE CHRISTIAN.

(For February 12.)

His foes declared him blasphemous, perverse,
Ignoring God and heedless of His word.
They said he lacked in fineness, who preferred
To market jokes, foul scandals to rehearse.
He was no white-robed saint: a strong man he
Who loved to wrestle with the devil's brood
That lurked behind the fashions of the good.
He scorned all shams, and for hypocrisy
He held a hatred such as Christ alone,
The scourge of haughty Pharisees, could know.
Those painted masks of Christians felt his blow,
And at his blameless name each cast his stone.
Not by their words, but by their fruits, said He,
Who also knew the sting of calumny.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

We have been spending the last ten minutes or so trying to find some words in which to express adequately what we think of the announcement of another international conference *to rewrite the laws of war!* We look up "folly" in the dictionary, and we find that it means "the state of being deficient in understanding, senselessness." We turn to "lunacy," and find "mental unsoundness, insanity." None of these terms satisfies, so we try "idiocy," and feel some little glow of satisfaction as we read "stupidity, fatuity, imbecility, mental unsoundness amounting to almost total absence of understanding." Even so, however, we have not found our word, for the calling of a conference to rewrite the laws of war indicates to us not *"almost* total absence of understanding," but unqualifiedly, unreservedly, absolutely total! A man who thinks that laws of war can be written which will be obeyed after war breaks out by any nation that finds it profitable to violate them, has a skull so empty of gray matter that cathedral spaces, with their vagrant grains of dust, are crowded in comparison. This idea indicates a degree of stupidity so abyssmal that even the statesmen sitting in the Washington Conference cannot be supposed to be guilty of it. The explanation of their proposal must lie in the fact that they are so embarrassingly conscious of the failure of the present Conference, that they are deliberately undertaking to distract popular attention by holding out new brands of future hope. Will the people be fooled? Perhaps! But there must be some end to this business of deception.

We have never been rated as exactly a desperate character, and yet we are almost tempted to confess that we would resign our pulpit, desert our wife and children, and beg, borrow, or steal funds in any amount, to be in Genoa in March and see Lenin sit down with Lloyd-George, Poincaré and the rest at the Economic Conference. This will be a spectacle worth a ten years' jail sentence to behold! Especially would we like to be a fly on the wall, or a crack in the table, when the Russian Premier, challenged by France to make good the debts contracted by the Czar, arises to present his bill for reparation for damages inflicted in Russia by agents of French arms. This bill, we are told, will require the invention of a new system of arithmetic to express the figures in Russian rubles! At any rate it will be food for thought for a nation screaming to high heaven for unlimited reparation from Germany for military damage in Flanders. Two can play at this game, and we can trust Lenin to play his cards in a way to make the Allied diplomats look like Herod's innocents. Indeed, not the least wholesome feature of the Genoa Conference will be the matching of Lloyd-George, Poincaré and company, for the first time, against a really first-class intellect. We will wager pencils to pens that we shall learn now what little men these are who are conducting our governmental affairs. It is certainly to be hoped that no Americans will sit in on the affair, for this would present a comparison too frightful to contemplate.

France's assertion that Germany is still armed, and her insistence on maintaining a great standing army as a protection against what she calls the "German menace," is an indication of her own insanity and not of German perfidy. For we know today, if we know anything at all, that Germany is disarmed both physically and morally. Briand admitted this in the Chamber of Deputies when he said, just before sailing for America,

> There is no menace to the peace of Europe from Germany. The German people have fulfilled all the demands of the Peace Treaty of Versailles for disarmament, for the destruction of munitions and aeroplanes, for the reduction of military forces, and the dissolution of so-called units for home protection.

General Nollet, whose duty it has been to disarm Germany, made the report on which the Premier based his statement, as follows, "Germany has carried out the terms imposed by the peace treaty and is disarmed." The Quakers, who have been directing child-

feeding for two years in all parts of the country, support without qualification these statements of Briand and Nollet. The Krupp works at Essen, it may be noted, are open to visitors, and are engaged in the manufacture of sewing machines, agricultural implements and other instruments of peace. Psychologically, the masses of the German people are sick of war. Ludendorff is called "the butcher" among them, and they curse him for his sacrifice of German lives. The great peace demonstration of July 31st last, in which 500,000 men and women took part under banners bearing the slogan, "Nie Wieder Krieg," was a true index of popular feeling. Facts, after all, are stubborn things. Germany is disarmed! If France is armed, it is either because she is insane, which is the charitable way to look at it, or else because she is hopelessly militaristic and seeks renewal of war!

The autocratic Hungarian government which succeeded the Bela Kun regime and celebrated its victory by cramming the prisons full of Socialists and Communists, observed the Christmas festival by flinging wide prison doors and releasing no less than six hundred political offenders. A personal letter from Budapest states that

> over six hundred souls were freed and breathe again the atmosphere of liberty. Day after day since Christmas a few people are discharged. . . . It is difficult to describe the terrible home conditions to which some of these men and women return and the sickness which also meets their eyes in their children. Many of these liberated folks are themselves broken in body and soul.

It is probable that tyranny has been guilty of worse practices in Hungary than any other country of Europe, and it is interesting to notice that since the Hungarian government has the good will of the Allied world our newspapers have said as little about these conditions of oppression as they have said much about the so-called similar conditions in Russia. It is well to note that our would-be organs of opinion, and indeed public opinion generally, are not disturbed any by tyranny so long as this tyranny is exercised for the benefit of "our side." It is the tyranny of the other fellow which stirs our indignation! On the other hand it is to be carefully noted that even this Hungarian government, despotic as it is, found it proper to use Christmas for a sweeping amnesty to its enemies. Admiral von Horthy seems like an angel of light in the reflected glory of the faces of the six hundred emancipated men whom he restored to freedom as compared with President Harding and the beggarly twenty-four whom he released on the birthday of Christ. If ever we felt shame that our government should have practiced the spirit of good-will in so grudging and meager a fashion on such a day, we feel ashamed now in view of this news from one of the darkest spots of darkest Europe. We have no idea that Admiral von Horthy has suddenly been converted to liberty; but he knows as every pirate knows, and as no democrat seems to learn; that when forgiveness is to be offered to one's enemies, it is to be done handsomely or not at all.

The great book on the Russian Revolution has appeared! It is called "Through the Russian Revolution," and is written by Mr. Albert Rhys Williams. The author arrived in Petrograd shortly after the overthrow of the Czar, when Kerensky had come to power. He witnessed the July (1917) uprisings and their suppression, participated in the seizure of the Winter Palace and the triumph of the Bolsheviki (November 7th), went forth with the red army to meet Korniloff and his white guards, knew and worked with Lenin, Trotsky and other distinguished leaders of the Soviets. He journeyed through the agricultural districts and studied the peasants, went to the battlefront and saw the break-up of the armies, visited the navy and talked with the sailors, and crossed Siberia and thus followed the red flag to Vladivostok. Mr. Williams's experiences constitute an epitome of the greatest events of modern times, "all of which he saw and part of which he was." They are used in his book as the structural outline of the history of the Revolution itself, and make a tale as thrilling as it is important. This volume, we believe, will live. It is one of those first-hand documents which historians of the future regard with such reverence and cherish with such care. Meanwhile contemporaries should not miss such a work. Hence our mention of the book in this place, and our earnest counsel to our readers to lay hold upon it without fail!

Dr. Frederick D. Kershner, Professor of Systematic Theology at Drake University, has said some sensible things in his article on "Church Consolidation in America." He is much impressed by the growing activity of laymen in religious affairs, and gives not only as his hope but as his "conviction that a readjustment of the Protestant forces in America . . . will come as a result of the demands of intelligent laymen in all of our churches." He thinks that "these men are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the overlapping, narrowness and economic waste which characterize the present situation." He says that they "wish to give full weight to the divisive features which embody considerations of real importance or of essential conviction," but asserts that "they have no patience with mere trivialities or unworthy motives for perpetuating schism." We believe that Prof. Kershner is right in his survey of the situation. The more our laymen with their happy ignorance of traditional theological disputations and their growing practise of efficiency standards in business, enter into church affairs, the more certain is the abolition of denominationalism. The more they study the facts, the

more surely will they come to see that there are no "considerations of great importance or of essential conviction" which hold the various Protestant sects, either orthodox or liberal, apart today. *All* the "divisive features" represent either "trivialities" of theological opinion or else "unworthy motives" of ecclesiastical dominance and pride. Denominationalism today is a disgrace which laymen, if not ministers and church officers, will not much longer tolerate. Indeed, have not unnumbered thousands of laymen and laywomen already signified their abhorrence of this scandal by calmly and quietly refusing longer to support sectarian institutions or even attend their services. And what goes nearer to the heart of the problem of the failing ministerial supply than the growing scorn of young men for institutions that stand in this age for nothing but the perpetuation of an 'ism. The situation is perfectly clear—our churches must end their differences, and pool their interests in a common service of community ideals, or else slowly snuff out like a gutted candle. Laymen may be counted upon to see this, and act accordingly.

Lord Bryce and Democracy

James Bryce was surely one of the most completely all-round men of the generation that is now rapidly passing away. Where can we find his superior as a gentleman and a scholar? Was any Englishman ever more highly regarded in America, or given a more genuine welcome whenever he came here? The old scores and grudges and vestiges of earlier strife could not live in his genial presence. His career quite seizes our admiration. The son of a Scotch schoolmaster in Belfast, a graduate of Glasgow University, student and Fellow at Oxford, a practiser of law in London but soon called back to Oxford as a Lecturer in Civil law, springing into fame at the age of 26 as the author of "The Holy Roman Empire," an athlete, a mountain climber, who had stood on the top of Ararat with Noah's Ark, or what was left of it, a world traveler, a liberal in politics all his life, yet a member of the House of Lords, Chief-Secretary for Ireland in Campbell-Bannerman's government, which healed the sores of the Boer War, and notable Ambassador to Washington—in a very high sense and with broad human interests he was a man of the world and everywhere at home.

In this well-rounded life what wonderful opportunities Bryce had to know and to do the best that is ever given to mortal man, to see the most beautiful things in the world, the noblest scenery of many lands, the greatest of all works of human aid, the remains of the most stirring history, to think the greatest thoughts after the poets and philosophers of the ages, to know intimately the whole galaxy of his contemporaries who were making the story of the Victorian period, to have acquaintanceship also with the best men and women of his time, and then to translate this wealth of spiritual treasure into splendid, effective, helpful character, conduct and action!

With uncommon admiration of the man and appreciation for his work and services, have we not a sense of lack of the full richness which a man of such gifts and opportunities might have given the world? The fact is, that the last century touched the minds of its noblest youth with the shadow of a new form of skepticism. Hard questions were being asked, and not always answered, in the Oxford of Bryce's early manhood, touching the foundations of the Evangelical religion in which the good English boys and girls had been brought up. Read the novels or the biographies of the century, and observe how largely the "best people," especially those in the governmental group, however much they bow to the forms and institutions of the National Church, express little or no concern about its teachings. The convincing marks of a vital and genuine religion are faith in God and faith in man, hope, and love or friendliness. Bryce could hardly have lived the life that lay before him, without feeling the somewhat chilly breath of the age through which he was passing. Whatever his deeper religion may have been, his writings do not warm us with their faith. We make this observation because of the importance of the subject with which his name will be long associated in literature, namely, the development of democracy.

To us Americans Bryce's greatest services are his books of exposition of democracy and his criticism of the working of our institutions of government. The study of democratic machinery in various lands, but most of all in the United States, was doubtless his closest literary interest. It is significant that he did not long survive the publication of his latest work upon the comparison of various democracies. I have used the word "machinery" advisedly. No man knew this side of democracy better than he did. But this is only the external aspect of democracy. Is it not almost startlingly true that Bryce fails to realize the inner nature of democracy? It is essentially a spiritual relation and it goes back to a spiritual or religious philosophy of life. It is based in the idea of something eternal in every man, akin to the spirit or life that constitutes the universe. It is in this sense only that man can be thought of as a child of God; not power, or even intelligence, but good will also is the crowning fact of man's development. That man grows and learns, and can never be satisfied merely with the knowledge and possession of things, is to affirm that he has it in him to be like the creative life in the quality of outflowing benevolence.

It is because we can say these high things of man that we call one another brothers. We are not brothers on the bodily or animal side, but on the side of our humanity. And we can only say brother to one another so fast and so meaningly as we grow thoroughly humane. That is, we are truly men by virtue of our common humanity.

It follows that every valid judgment and criticism of democracy goes back to this spiritual point of view, and can proceed accurately only with the aid of this humane standard. It is not enough, for instance, to point out that the machinery of proportional representation works well or ill in a country. The question is, whether this or that machinery is a truthful expression of the humane respect for one another among the voters and a helpful means of giving all of them the most complete realization of their thoughts and aspirations for the common good. The worship of the majority, at present so clumsy and despotic, falls into its proper place, when we ask just how far any majority has the right to enforce its will upon an unwilling and unpersuaded minority, however small. That can never be good democracy which does not constantly take account of the manhood of the voters, and provide for the utmost freedom of self fulfillment in behalf not only of every citizen, but of every stranger also. Is democracy anything less than this?

It is true that democracy is a very great faith. It is thus a form of the universal religion. But every failure of present-day democracy is a witness to the fact that mankind is so far only on its way to the understanding of real democracy. Its working is good or bad in proportion to the vital spirit in the minds and hearts of the men who use it. Are we wrong in believing that Mr. Bryce's books, useful as they are, fail in setting forth adequately the underlying idea of the human brotherhood out of which veritable democracy proceeds. Mr. Bryce's faith is not rich enough to give him, or his reader, any strong assurance of the virtue or the staying power of democracy. He knows nothing better to offer, but man wants something more compelling than this cold and almost agnostic judgment. The faith in democracy which is going to bring happiness and victory must carry a gospel, utter itself in poetry, glow in eloquent prophecies, worship the living God and stir men's enthusiasm.

Mr. Bryce once gave the Phi Beta Kappa oration at Harvard College on the question, whether or not there has been any real human progress since history began. He left the question still open. Now, democracy is a philosophy of progress being identical with a religion of progress. If we dare to think this is God's world, how can we help believing also in human progress? If we see spiritual values first of all, how can we hesitate to claim, that measured in the beautiful fruits of the spirit, that is, in noble lives of men and women, the world has grown immeasurably richer in that fine stuff out of which democracy can be created than the world of the Pharaohs? Of all the men who served their kings in the fortieth century before Christ, it is hard to believe that one existed in all Asia so excellent as Ambassador Bryce!

The late William Lloyd Garrison used to say that no man could teach the business of a government and not suffer in manhood. If this is so, it is because governments so far have been built (and our own is no exception) on the old proposition that behind them must always lie force to compel, command and defend. It doubtless hurts a man's humanity to believe in and to act upon this principle. Trusting in force and believing in its necessity, it is hard to trust in the potential good will in common man.

When Mr. Bryce was in the government of Great Britain, his department had the business of ruling Ireland from Dublin Castle. How could the service of this false god of violence fail to cloud his eyes from understanding or trusting that mutual good will in which democracy consists?

If democracy grows out of faith in man and friendliness towards all men and hope for a better humanity, then nothing can be so hostile to the understanding and the progress of humanity as the system of war (is). War is founded on the brute instinct to compel, to break the will, to punish, to make reprisals, to hold others in subjection. It feeds on fear, suspicion, jealousies and hate. Nothing is so anomalous for a democracy as to reduce its youth to the slavery of conscription and to send them forth to kill and be killed in a chaos of anarchy. Has any one ever persuaded his better self to accept "force, force, without stint," and not thus administered a subtle poison to his humanity and intelligence? In every nation the "liberals," either in religion or in politics, who have bowed to the worship of Baal, have ceased to be an effective power to restore peace in the world. They have gone out of commission, leaving the work of politics in reactionary hands. Lord Bryce seems to have suffered with the rest in this lapse of power and vision. Did he not see how ill it became him, a historian, a servant of truth, a lover of men, to accept the work of a partisan, even in the name of his country, and to prepare a pamphlet of war-propaganda, condemning the conduct of the enemy nation in a purely *ex parte* Report, in the midst of the heat and bitterness of battle? Lord Bryce was never willing to confess this injustice. Too humane not to deprecate the terrible hate that possessed the victors after the war was over, too intelligent not to know that Germany was not alone guilty nor England free of blame, he did not know how to forgive, or to lead a saving movement in

England and America to atone for the ruinous peace of Versailles and to take back the great German people into the fellowship of mankind. What a lost opportunity for this splendidly equipped student of democracy to give the remnant of his life for the greatest cause that man has ever served! But alas! When the time came, the faith, the hope, the humanity was not in him to do this high work for mankind. Thus, as with so many other men accounted great, he was not really great. Only the life of God flowing in the soul of men can make anyone great.

CHARLES F. DOLE.

Religion in the United States

Evidence of the low estate to which organized religion has fallen in this country, comes along so fast and furious that it no longer startles us. So at least we thought, until we examined the compendious volume from the press of Harcourt, Brace and Company, called "Civilization in the United States," edited by Harold Stearns and written as "an inquiry by thirty Americans." We confess that we got a genuine shock when we looked at the book and discovered that, among the thirty topics discussed, religion and the church did not appear! Here were not only such expected subjects as politics, journalism, education, science, philosophy, music, poetry, art, the theatre, and so forth, but also a goodly assortment of less conventional themes, such as radicalism, sex, advertising, engineering, nerves, sport and play, humor—but no mention of religion!

At first the omission seemed so incredible that we assumed it must be due to one of those extraordinary oversights of which any one of us, even the editor of a book, is at times guilty. An examination of the Index, however, showed no less than nine references to "religion," four to the "church," and one to "religious movements." The subject, therefore, had not been forgotten! But did this mean that it had been deliberately ignored? Is it possible that religion and the church have actually fallen so low, become suddenly so ineffective and inconsequential, that men like Harold Stearns, Zechariah Chaffee, Robert Morss Lovett, Robert H. Lowie, Frederick C. Howe, H. W. Van Loon, and George Soule think them no longer worth talking about?

In our perplexity we turned to the Preface, which usually reveals the whys and wherefores of a book, and there, to our relief, we found a whole paragraph devoted to religion. The relief, however, if such it was in the beginning, was hardly more than momentary. The omission of "a specific article on religion," says the editor, was not intentional in any supercilious or neglectful sense.

> Certainly no one can understand the social structure of contemporary American life," he explains, "without careful study of the organization and power of the church. Speaking generally, we are a church-going people, and at least on the surface the multiplicity of sects and creeds, the sheer immensity of the physical apparatus by which the religious impulse is articulated, would seem to prove that our interest in and emotional craving for religious experience are enormous.

Recognizing these facts, the editor tells us that he "put more time and energy" into the essay which should discuss them, than into any other problem connected with his task.

> "The bald truth is," he continues, "it has been next to impossible to get any one to write on the subject; most of the people I approached shied off—it was really difficult to get them to talk about it at all. Almost unanimously, when I did secure an opinion from them, they said that real religious feeling in America had disappeared, that the church had become a purely social and political institution, that the country is in the grip of what Anatole France has aptly called Protestant clericalism, and that, finally, they weren't interested in the topic.

At first sight, one is tempted to wax merry, if not out-and-out sarcastic, at this confession. Is it not exhausting just to think of the labor that Mr. Stearns expended in trying to find somebody to write his article, and tragic to contemplate the fact that his labor was in vain! Is it not extraordinary to learn that such men as Harry Ward, Joseph E. McAfee, Henry E. Jackson, Durant Drake, Albert Parker Fitch, and Ambrose W. Vernon, avoided his search, or, if found, "weren't interested in the topic"! We would like to know the story of this Stanley-like quest of the religious Livingston—its adventures, its hair-breadth escapes, its heroic persistency and unfaltering devotion, and in the end its sublime failure. We are sure that literature and scholarship have few sagas to match it. Harold Stearns robs his readers of the best his book could offer, in withholding from them this tale.

But we would be more serious in so serious a matter! All evasions and pleas of avoidance one side, we have here the immensely significant fact that a group of most influential leaders, representative of a wide diversity of cultural interests, met together to discuss and publicly interpret "civilization in the United States," and they were so little interested in religion, or—to be perfectly candid—thought so contemptuously of the place actually held by religion in America—that they disdained to include it in a list of topics which embraced such matters as sport, nerves, and advertising. They didn't even think it worth while to write a clergyman to survey his field, as they asked a lawyer to survey "the law," a poet to survey "poetry," and an historian to survey "history"! Whether the editor and his associates were right or wrong in this attitude, is not at this moment the subject under discussion. What I would emphasize is the *fact*—the thing that has actually taken place! That this is enormously significant, whatever its explanation, is so evident as to need only mere mention. The church today is disappearing as a serious factor,

in the cultural life of the American people. It is becoming an utterly negligible quantity as regards the future destiny of the nation. And yet those who are inside the church are well content to do nothing. They are at ease in Zion.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Democracy and Individual Freedom

Democracy rests solidly on personal liberty. It is often said in London, that "America is like England, only more so." American freedom is identical with British freedom* from which it sprang, a foundation stone of which is the *Magna Charta* wrested from King John in 1215. The thirty-ninth article of this epoch-making document reads as follows:

> No freeman shall be arrested or detained in prison. . . . or in any way molested . . . unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land.

In the age-long conflict of justice against privilege, the freeman's rights were further safeguarded by the affirmation that "An Englishman's home is his castle," and his body sacred from official man-handling except under legal accusation of crime. These doctrines were thus authoritatively set forth by Lord Chatham:

> Every man's house has been called his castle, . . . and why is it called his castle? Is it because it is defended by a wall, and because it is surrounded by a moat? No! It may be nothing but a straw-built shed. It may be open to all the elements; the wind may enter it, the rain may enter, but *the king can not.*

The Bill of Rights of 1689 emphasized personal freedom and declared "the law as it stood" in Great Britain. This Act recognized the Prince and Princess of Orange (William III and Mary) as the lawful rulers of England, confirming at the same time certain provisions for the rights of the citizen and of Parliament.

Article V insists "That it is the right of subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and persecutions for such petitionings are illegal." Article IX declares "That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any place outside of Parliament."

These declarations and others of like tenor, from *Magna Charta* down to the present time, form the basis of Anglo-Saxon liberty. The main provisions of the Bill of Rights were adopted in the Constitution of the United States as well as in those of the several Commonwealths. The fourth Federal Amendment reads as follows:

> The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath and affrmation and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

A full definition of democratic freedom is implied in these words of John Stuart Mill:

> If all mankind, minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person was of contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind. Strange it is that men should admit the validity of the arguments for free discussion but object to their being "pushed to an extreme," not seeing that unless the reasons are good in an extreme case, they are not good in any case. . . .

"If a man does not keep step with his companion," said Thoreau, "it is because he hears a different drummer."

From a personal letter of Mr. Amos Pinchot to Mr. Samuel Gompers, I am permitted to make this illustrative quotation:

> Whether we call it democracy or liberty, the best thing we have here in America is a national ideal towards which the progressive forces and especially the labor movement are constantly working. This ideal is that the citizens shall have the most possible freedom and initiative in thought and action and the best possible opportunity to make a living, and, at the same time, to develop along natural and constructive lines. . . . If the fight for democracy is to be won in this country, we must keep one thought clear and one principle sacred: the initiative and independence of the average man must be protected. It is the sole foundation of our democracy. The moment you find the American citizen disciplined to authority and trained to look for leadership to a superior class, at that moment you have lost democracy and with it all that is vital or valuable to American life.

Says Daniel Webster (1814):

> A free government with arbitrary means to administer it is a contradiction, a free government without adequate provision for personal liberty is an absurdity, a free government with uncontrolled (military) power . . . is a solecism. The government was not constituted for such purposes. Framed in the spirit of liberty and the love of peace, it has no powers which render it able to enforce such laws.

Says Thoreau:

> There will never be a really free and enlightened state until the state comes to realize the individual as a higher and independent power from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly.

It cannot be too strongly asserted that progressive movements do not arise from the mass, as such, but from individuals within the mass, capable of individual thought and action. The democratic leader must stand above all "herd instincts" and provincial traditions. He must be competent,

To rebel against the mass-life, to repudiate mass-

* "These sentiments of American democracy are manifestly the enduring support of the free institutions of England, so I am sure also that they constitute the only reliable basis for free institutions throughout the world. . . . It seems to have devolved on the (American) people to test whether a government established on the principles of human freedom can be maintained against an effort to build one upon the exclusive foundation of human bondage." (Lincoln, *Letter to Workingmen of London,* 1863.)

thinking, to shatter the folk-ways, to be a leader, a teacher, a prophet. . . . Search history and you will find not a single value that is permanent, but personality, free personality. . . . The eternal things are personal and lonely things. (*The Seven Arts,* 1917.)

The man who thinks and acts for himself, regardless of tradition, prejudice, and calumny, becomes, in the words of Thucydides, "part of the possession of men forever." Says Emerson, "The highest compliment man ever receives from heaven is the sending to him its disguised and discredited angels."

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Egypt's Awakening

The land of the Pyramids and the Sphinx like the land of Ajanta and Taj Mahal is suffering from the lashes of British Imperialism. Both are great ancient races, the people of Egypt and those of India, each having a civilization of its own. That the awakening in Egypt should coincide with the awakening in India and China is no mere accident: it is the wave of the coming tide of the protest of the East against the domination of the West. The highest that the West can give to the world is the cult of Nationalism and the fetish of Imperialism. Imperialism it is precisely against which the East is protesting. The new spirit in Egypt is very like the new spirit in India, being born of "stout heart and quiet conscience." The leader of Young Egypt is the old man with a youthful spirit, Saad Zaghlul Pasha.

To Zaghlul's credit stands the splendid achievement of having organized public opinion in Europe in favor of Egypt's claim for Self-Determination—for Complete Independence. Egypt today affords a glaring example of the laxity in International Morality. In 1914, right after England's entrance into the war, ostensibly for the purpose of safeguarding the independence of small nations like Belgium, the Khedive Abbas Hilmi was deposed; upon the throne of Egypt was seated a mere puppet, Hussein Kamil of the same family, as the Sultan and upon the unwilling people was forced the Benevolent Protectorate of England! It was one of the many expedients of the war, British politicians assured us; and Egypt's indignation was pacified by a *solemn promise of independence at the end of the war.* When the armistice was concluded, the Egyptians elected their own delegation to represent their case for Independence to the Powers assembled at Paris. The delegation, headed by Zaghlul was imprisoned. Riots broke out and public indignation was so furious that the British dictators in Egypt, considering discretion to be the better part of valor, released the delegation and let them proceed to France. But the Egyptians were denied the opportunity to present their case as were the Irish and the Indians. The Milner Mission, which proceeded to Egypt *to find out whether the Egyptians were fit for Self-Government,* was boycotted alike by Pasha and Fellah (peasant), by the rich as well as the poor. Lord Milner's Report, however, opened the eyes of the British Cabinet in regard to the gravity of the situation. The erstwhile repudiated leader of his people, Zaghlul was then invited to London and negotiations were carried on. But the best the British Government could offer—a Cuban form of independence as our papers then reported—was considered disappointing and unsatisfactory by the Egyptian delegation. After a deadlock had been reached in the protracted negotiations, Zaghlul went back to Paris and thence to Egypt. The enthusiastic reception and the cheerful ovation accorded to him on his arrival amid sonorous cries of "Long Live Egypt," "Complete Independence," "Down with England," "Vive l'Egypt," is in itself an historic chapter in Egypt. The people were in a mood to boycott everything English or connected with England. Then was tried the traditional policy of Imperialism: namely, Divide and Rule. Adley Pasha who had differences with Zaghlul became the premier of Egypt; and even though the mandate of the nation rested with Zaghlul Pasha, their beloved leader, Adley was prevailed upon against the wishes of the people to proceed to London to conduct the negotiations where they had been left off. But even the moderate-minded Adley could not accept the terms of Lord Curzon. In the meanwhile, working as President of the Wafd (Delegation), Zaghlul's influence and prestige had been enormously increasing among the masses.

Egypt has been adopting the Irish method as well as the Indian method of Non-co-operation with the British Government. The inspirer and the mainstay of the movement was Zaghlul himself. Therefore, in order to nip the movement in the bud, the British Government thought it expedient to incarcerate Zaghlul and his co-workers, forgetting that *repression serves merely to bring forth the latent vitality of the oppressed.* Zaghlul's utterances and acts—how very like Gandhi! It seems that the Duty of Civil Disobedience to injustice and oppression is in the air—that it has nothing to do with the Christianism of Thoreau, the Mohammedanism of Zaghlul or the Hinduism of Gandhi. General Clayton's letter and Zaghlul's answer and subsequent behavior are very like Heycock's letter to Gandhi and Gandhi's answer to him—both in spirit and principle.

(1)

To His Excellency,
Saad Zaghlul Pasha,
Cairo.

I have the honor to inform you that I have received from the Field Marshal Commander-in-Chief instructions to acquaint you with the following:

Saad Zaghlul Pasha is hereby forbidden, under Martial Law, to make public speeches, to attend public meetings, to write to the papers or to take part in any political act. He has to leave Cairo without delay and live at his country house under the supervision of the Mudir (police) of the province.

(Signed) ALLENBY.
Cairo, December 21, 1921.

I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's Obedient Servant,
(Signed) G. F. CLAYTON,
Brigadier General,
Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior.

(2)

Zaghlul Pasha's Reply.

To General Clayton:

I have the honor to inform you that I received your letter of this date communicating to me the order of Field Marshal Allenby prohibiting me from occupying myself with politics and forcing me to go to my Ezba (country home) without delay, where I am to remain under the supervision of the police.

This is an order against which I protest with all my power, for there is nothing to justify it.

As I hold the mandate of the nation to try to obtain its in-

dependence, there is no other authority which relieves me of the accomplishment of this sacred duty. (Italics ours.)

I shall therefore remain at my post loyal to my duty, and force can do what it likes towards persons and parties; for we are all ready to meet it with stout heart and quiet conscience, knowing that every violence used against our legal efforts only helps the country to realize our legal efforts for complete independence.

With respects,
(Signed) SAAD ZAGHLUL,
President of the Wafd (Delegation).

(3)

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, at present in Motihari.

Whereas it has been made to appear to me from the letter of the commissioner of the Division . . . that your presence in any part of the district will endanger the public peace, and may lead to serious disturbance which may be accompanied by loss of life, and whereas urgency is of the utmost importance:

Now, therefore, I do hereby order you to abstain from remaining in this district, which you are required to leave by the next available train.

(Sd.) W. B. HEYCOCK,
16th April, 1917. District Magistrate,
Champaran.

(4)

Mahatma Gandhi's Reply.

Sir:—

With reference to the order under Sec. 144, Cr. P. C., just served upon me, I beg to state that I am sorry that you have felt called upon to issue it; and I am sorry, too, that the Commissioner of the Division has totally misinterpreted my position. Out of a sense of public responsibility, I feel it to be my duty to say that I am unable to leave this district, but if it so pleases the authorities, I shall submit to the order by suffering the penalty of disobedience.

I most emphatically repudiate the Commissioner's suggestion that "my object is likely to be agitation." My desire is purely and simply for "a genuine search for knowledge" and this I shall continue to satisfy so long as I am left free.

I have, etc.
16th April, 1917. (Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

In his statement before the court Mr. Gandhi concluded by saying, "I have disregarded the order served upon me, not for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience to the higher law of our being—the voice of conscience."

It will thus appear that, without professing Christianity, the East is trying to live the life of the Christ! Egypt's is no small contribution to the movement.

HARIDAS MUZUMDAR.

Mr. Lajpat Rai in An Indian Prison

What he foresaw and what his friends in America foresaw has come to pass. Lajpat Rai, the eminent patriot and leader of the people of India in their struggle for freedom, has been arrested and shut up within prison walls. Shut up once more! for this is the second time that he has had to pay the same penalty for daring to assert his nation's right to be free from a foreign yoke. Mr. Rai has been three times in America. He came the last time in 1915 and remained until 1920, spending the larger part of his time in New York, but also travelling to nearly all parts of the country to give lectures and addresses on India. Everywhere he impressed his audiences as being a man of commanding ability, of the highest type of character, and of the most uncompromising and unselfish devotion to the cause of his country's freedom. Those who heard him and still more those who came into close personal contact with him, recognized him as actuated by the same spirit of noble patriotism as Franklin and Patrick Henry, and Washington himself, in our American struggle for liberation from a yoke similar to that which oppresses India, but much less galling and unjust.

While in America Mr. Rai wrote three important books on political conditions in his country, namely, "Young India, An Interpretation and a History of the Nationalist Movement from Within," "England's Debt to India, A Historical Narrative of Britain's Fiscal Policy in India," and "The Political Future of India" (all published by B. W. Huebsch, New York). These are by far the best books we have on British Rule in India and its effects upon the Indian people. There are plenty of books in our libraries written from the British standpoint, giving the story of Britain's "Great Indian Empire" and the glories and beneficences of her rule; for conquerors can be depended on to spare no pains in letting the world know how wise and unselfish and kind their conquests and dominations are, how incapable the peoples under them are of governing themselves, and how unselfishly they (the foreign rulers) are ruling the people "for their good." I say we have long had plenty of such books about British rule in India written from the British side. Fortunately at last we have three books written from the side of the India people,—from the side of the people that experience the rule, hear its pitiless burdens and suffer its ignominies,—from the side of the "toad under the harrow." Especially is Mr. Rai's "England's Debt to India" to be commended. Every American should read it. It should be read by every man and woman in the world who has a heart to sympathize with a great nation, possessed of a civilization older than that of Europe, that for more than one hundred and sixty years has been robbed of its nationhood, robbed of its wealth, made an abject dependency of a distant foreign power, deprived of the right to make or alter a single law under which it must live, or in any way shape its own political destiny. Mr. Lajpat Rai's book is the work of a scholar. It gives facts and figures and documentary evidences that nobody can gainsay.

A year and a half ago Mr. Rai returned to India and at once threw in his lot with Mr. Gandhi and the Non-Co-operation Movement — that movement so unique, so unprecedented, so remarkable in its character, which seeks to win India's freedom—to compel Great Britain to give the Indian people self rule, without bloodshed or violence on the part of the people, by wholly peaceful means, by moral power,—by what Mr. Gandhi calls "soul-power." When Mr. Rai was arrested he issued a "message to his Countrymen" which well expresses his spirit and his hopes. It has been widely published in India, and will interest his friends in America. The following are some passages from it:

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

Mr. Lajpat Rai's Message

My Countrymen:

When I left the shores of America, I knew I would not be allowed to remain outside of a jail for any considerable time; and on my departure I told my American friends that I would be satisfied if I were allowed to work among my people for even six months. But now through the grace of God I have been enabled to work with you for about nineteen months, and I go to the jail with an untroubled heart, and with the firm belief that whatever we have done we have done according to our conscience and our God. I have no misgiving. I do not claim to possess the splendid spirituality of Mahatma Gandhi. But this I can truthfully assert that I have always kept the interests of my country and nation before my mind and my actions have been directed with a sole eye to the interests of my country.

The success of our movement requires that:

(1) There should be complete unanimity between different communities and denominations in India.

(2) There should be no violence in the country. The Government officials are provoking the people in many ways. Courage, patriotism and regard for duty all demand that we should remain non-violent even in the face of the gravest provocation. There is every danger that at the present moment violence might lead to internal dissension, which is bound to ruin us. I, therefore, with the utmost respect and sincerity of purpose, urge on my countrymen to restrain their feelings. They should not hold meetings over the arrests, nor should they go to the courts. Every person should continue his everyday work with a calm and cool mind, should not disobey the order of the Indian National Congress, and should regard it his duty to carry out the order of the Local Provincial Indian Leaders. To maintain non-violence and to keep the movement of Non-co-operation free from that taint are essential for our success.

My Countrymen, I go to jail in the firm belief that the honor of my beloved nation is safe in your keeping. I leave behind two children of my brain and heart—*Bande Materam*, the paper which I have established, and the "Tilak School of Politics," which I have founded to train young men to serve their country's political needs. These also I leave in your keeping. And now I bid you an affectionate farewell. May God help you, and give victory to the right.

LAJPAT RAI.

Why Armenia Suffers?

A geographical position makes history. If we wish to understand the history of a nation we must begin by bearing in mind the geographical position of the country of that nation. When we have realized all the advantages and disadvantages of a given geographical position on the earth's surface, we can then understand how history has been shaped for that particular nation.

England is now demanding the abolition of the submarine, because this invention has made her hitherto invulnerable geographical position vulnerable. The insular position which the France of Napoleon failed to assail and to bring under subjugation was succumbing to the attacks of the German submarines. England that has not food in her domain with which to feed her population fears the submarine that can sink the ships carrying food to her shores.

Belgium was attacked and invaded by Germany in 1914 on account of her geographical position, and because of this selfsame geographical position of Belgium, the press of England and France rent the heavens shrieking out maledictions against "German atrocities in Belgium" and immediately after armistice was declared, because of this very geographical position, Belgium was reinstated in her former independence, since the interests of England and France require a buffer state between themselves and Germany.

Thus by reason of her geographical position Armenia was traversed athwart and across by invading armies in the past, her sovereignty attacked and subdued, and her people subjugated under conquering alien dominations. Thus, too, by reason of her geographical position which gave birth to the cruel political position of the Russian power on one side and the Turkish power on the other, Armenians were made to suffer the most, and sacrificed the most of any other nation during the war, and out of that welter of agony, horrors and chaos, Armenians have gained nothing except an insecure foothold, amidst hunger and desolation, on the northernmost corner of their country. Unlike Belgium it was not her good fortune to be geographically so situated that her independence should be a *sine quâ non* to the victors who settled the peace conditions. Unlike Belgium it is not her good fortune to have the world ringing over a treaty being made into "a scrap of paper," although more than one treaty has been made into "a scrap of paper" for her.

In the past, it was Armenia's misfortune to be geographically in proximity to those territories from which swept savage marauding hordes who exhausted on her soil the first vigor of their savage strength. She was also geographically a bridge for the advance of powerful imperialisms in their lust for territory. She was thus unable singly to stem the many invading tides, and fell under the march of the trampling feet of her enemies. In the present, it is Armenia's misfortune that, on account of her geographical position, she can not become detached from Europe. If she could cut her moorings and detach herself from Europe, the intelligence and ability of her people would be able to secure a free and happy future.

Bolshevik Russia is Europe, and the Turkish state (with rival European interests within the borders) is Europe, and Armenia is hard pressed between the two.

What is known as the Turkish state has long been a carcass, but also, always galvanized into life by European governments, and the galvanizing process is going on how, to Armenia's loss and detriment.

An Englishman once said in alluding to the Turkish state, "There will be joy among the angels in heaven when the putrid carcass is buried."

But although more than a quarter of a century has passed since those words were uttered, European governments have taken care that there shall not be joy among the angels in heaven, and not joy nor peace on earth either.

During the war, Turks in Constantinople were known to say, "When shall we get rid of these Boche! When shall our good old friends, the English, and the French, come back to us!"

As soon as Armistice was declared their "good old friends" went back to the Turks; and innocent people wonder why Europe does not get settled to normalcy, ignorant of the fact that the key to the situation in Europe is to be found in Constantinople, and that the problems of the Near East have now given rise to a bitter rivalry between England and France.

After a hundred years of striving England has now seized Constantinople, thereby incurring the jealousy of France, the magnus creditor of the Turkish state. But Constantinople has been Russia's objective through the centuries (whether Tsarist Russia or Bolshevik Russia makes no difference), the eyes of Russia are fixed on Constantinople, and that geographical position remains the Russian objective and will continue so to remain until either Constantinople is internationalized and thus neutralized, or becomes a Russian city.

The Turkish state ought to have been broken up, since the territories which it comprises have been robbed from other nations over whom the Turks have perpetrated long continued and most abominable cruelties, the like of which for horrors and magnitude, history has no record, and they have thereby lost all moral claim to their conquests. If this Turkish state had been broken up, Armenia would have found a new life and a stable independence, instead of being still, three years after the Armistice, in the throes of a mortal struggle for her existence.

An Englishman has called the Turkish state, "The Beelzebub of Europe," but up till now none of the great European nations have paused to ask: Whither is Beelzebub leading them? and whither are they in

their turn leading the weak and defenceless nations of the earth.

It does not pay to hate, but it pays to love.

No more does it pay to do unto other nations as we would not that nations should do unto us.

Yokohama, Japan. DIANA AGABEG APCAR.

The Illusion of Violence

Unregenerate man is a distressing compound of supineness and impatience. The multitude goes on, bearing its wrongs and miseries with grumbling passivity, and, as a rule, doing nothing but grumble, even to try to change its conditions. And the individual stumbles and dozes along in his groove, sometimes contented and very often irritated and irritable, but very seldom emphatically, hopefully insurgent. But to the multitude there come, from time to time, impulses to do something, and nearly always to do something to somebody else; and that something is nearly always violent. The crudely idolatrous person beats his saint or joss when his affairs are desperately unfavorable. When despair suggests that matters have gone beyond even the remedy of doing something violent to somebody or something else, the desperate man turns upon himself with violence, and commits suicide—the feeblest form of murder. The two forms of murder—the murder of oneself and the murder of someone else—are generally condemned by modern, western society, and are very little understood as being desperate attempts at remedy. In fact, if we consider crime closely, we shall find that it is always a blind remedial attempt. The crime of war in its early and crudely predatory form was a crude attempt to remedy material poverty, and the crime of capitalist exploitation has the same origin. Modern wars, such as the recent one, are vast, desperate attempts to remedy what appear to be intolerable political or economic conditions. They betoken the common belief in violence as a necessary and, at times, desirable thing for the future of humanity.

Violence is, truly, a correlative of atheism. Man must appeal to something for help in his difficulties. Either he appeals to the spirit which is within him, and becomes calm and strong; or to the weapon of attack which is without, and becomes violent and weak and full of fear. For, violence and fear (with its companion impatience) always go together. The true militarist lives in a perpetual state of violence and fear. He is always afraid of something, and, therefore, is always uttering threats in his attempts to frighten it. His attempts are remedial, because he believes that if he can frighten it, or, if need be, chastise it, sufficiently, it will desist from its evil ways and leave him in peace. Militarism, which is always the mental state of a ruling caste, is normally afraid of two things: of another counter militarism or of democracy and revolution. Consequently it lives in a perpetual state of fear and anger and unrest. In the time of war its fear and anger are directed towards a counter militarism, and in time of peace towards the common people, who are, in turn, trying to spoil the world as he knows and enjoys it. Given his conception of a desirable world and the nature of life, he is right. His righteous indignation spurs him on to do something for the sake of virtue, and his ultimate expression of virtue is to "shoot them down." Once you have shot them down they cannot do any more harm.

Stated thus crudely, this conviction and practice sound absurd enough; but in one form or another they are the conviction and practice of almost the whole world. At the present time they are the conviction and practice of almost every politician and almost every lawyer. The phrase "shoot them down" may be variously expressed as "vote them down," or "talk them down," or "hang them up," or, to use Mr. Bernard Shaw's variant, "put them into a lethal chamber." All these variants come from the same center of illusion —the illusion of the remedial value of violence.

Violence may be in many forms. It may be obviously destructive, as by the stroke of the sword or the rope of the hangman; or it may be coercive, as by the key of the gaoler, statutory prohibition, or the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is one thing that it cannot be, and that is a true remedy for evil. Yet it is cultivated as a remedy for every evil: for violence itself, for ignorance, for dishonesty, for disease. Justice is founded on violence. The murderer is still murdered in some countries—including this one; the ruffian is frequently flogged as the final resort of impotent ignorance. In private life, a blow returned is commonly accepted as a moral remedy for a blow received; and, the "crime passionel" is tolerated as an attempt to remedy sexual incontinence by an outburst of ferocity. It is true that these obvious errors are becoming more and more widely discredited. But the subtler ones are seldom questioned. Punishment, in its many forms, is nothing but violence, more or less disguised. Even if a man's body is not violently handled, it does infinite violence to his mind and soul to restrain him in a place which his free will rejects. But social fear and weakness demand that the violent or dishonest person shall be put out of the way, a sacrifice to the fear and weakness, which have neither the courage nor the patience to find a true remedy. Impatience, which is one of the commonest symptoms of weakness, is the cause of the greatest amount of violence. Current education and the training of children are mainly expressions of impatience. A child is slapped, because, to impatience, it seems the quickest way of discouraging its inconvenient childish energy or desire for experiment, which are driven back upon themselves and distorted. Education is, as a rule, administered severely and uniformly in classes, so that the violence of suppression is practiced simultaneously on a large number of indescribably various and sensitive personalities. Teaching has been placed in the hands of a class of what are really mental drill instructors, because humanity, as a whole, has not the wisdom or the patience to teach or to learn. The mood of the teacher is commonly very similar to the mood of the drill sergeant; a mood of exasperation at the stupidity of the average recruit. The childish mind is coerced into "forming fours," but is very seldom permitted to "stand—or wander—at ease." Education, although at the present moment suffering a violent reaction under the banner of Madam Montessori, is still in the main a glaring example of the illusion of violence. . . . In all things, violence, through disintegration, coercion, prohibition, or any other of its numerous forms, is an error, rooted in another error, the error of gross materialism. The materialistic interpretation of evolution and of historical development must, inevitably, lead to a belief in violence. Its keynote is hard compulsion and not sympathetic conversion. The keynote of the true way is the note of sympathy and love, to which

the material conditions will always yield, provided love is an active force and not an easily-used word or a mere intellectual concept. Love is the child of knowledge and love and violence are incompatible. Violence is always a sign of error. The soldier, the dictator, the punitive judge are ignorant men, acting under the illusion of violence and trying to find a remedy by an impossible means. It is because of this illusion that the history of the world is the sad and disappointing record that it is. It is because of this illusion that the classic Peace Treaties have been the causes of war; that the imprisoned criminal becomes the "recidivist." . . . Under this illusion men mistake violence for strength instead of fear and impatience, both notorious elements of weakness. Under this illusion, violent men (Cæsars and Napoleons of the sword and commerce) have been worshipped as strong men, in spite of the gross neuropathic symptoms common to their type. Indeed, the illusion of violence is so strong that these evidences of disease and weakness have been ignored or regarded as something of a paradox instead of a natural correlative expression of the Napoleonic quality. The error which does homage to the world conqueror . . . one which has been pointed out many times by many men possessing knowledge of the truth. Until it is commonly recognized as a gross error the world will go on struggling in the chains wrought by its own well-intentioned and violent industry.

For this reason, it is impossible not to grieve at the earnest efforts of those revolutionaries who are trying to create a new world by violent methods, or cannot see that it is possible to avoid violence in a violent world. In effect, they are endeavoring to change the world by perpetuating one of its grossest errors. Stated thus baldly, the error is apparent and absurd. But, in various subtle forms, the illusion of violence dogs the feet of the revolutionary as tragically as it urges the feet of the conqueror. The result, in either case, is tragic futility and destruction.

London, England. *The Flame.*

On the Education of Children

— This follows a sentence in which Gandhi has said that Passive Resistance, if it became universal, would revolutionize social ideals and do away with despotisms and the ever-growing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and which promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East.

"Thus viewed Passive Resistance is the noblest and the best education. It should come, not after the education in letters, but it should precede it. It will not be denied that a child before it begins to write its alphabet and to gain worldly knowledge, should know what the soul is, what truth is, what love is, and what powers are latent in the soul. It should be an essential of real education that a child should learn that, in the struggle of life, it can easily conquer hate by love, untruth by truth, violence by self-suffering."

The Modern Review. *—M. K. Gandhi.*

He's very long, will be a tall man, too,
A hunter and a chopper, Indian fighter,
Lord, who knows what, a big man in the country,
A preacher, congressman or senator,
A president—who knows? God blesses you
To give you such a son.

From "A Man Child Is Born." *—Edgar Lee Masters.*

CORRESPONDENCE

An Opportunity to Help in France

To the Editor of UNITY:

Dear Mr. Editor—I am venturing to ask you if you would give me a little space in order that I may reach the readers of UNITY.

During the war, I nursed the French soldiers for three and one-half years. I also raised money enough so that I was able to take care of ten soldiers whose families remained in the invaded regions.

Many of the men I nursed and all of my *filleuls de guerre* I have kept in touch with since and have followed their conditions, as far as I could, 3,000 miles away.

It has been very difficult for most of those who went back to their homes in the invaded north of France and my heart has ached for them.

There has been almost no work and many of my men have walked many miles a day scouring the country to earn a few francs for the needs of the family.

Let me give you a concrete example of the many I am eager to help.

Masse, 45 when the war broke out, was for three years machine gun man in the first line trench. His wife and son, 10, were in Roubaix and the city being occupied by the enemy, no word ever came to Masse from them. I took him as *filleul* in 1916. He not only did his own work, but that of his devoted comrade who slowly broke under the awful worry about his daughter, 16, and son, 18, at Roubaix, and I feel sure that only Masse's strong and wonderful help at every moment kept Vandercastreel alive.

Masse has had almost no work since his demobilization. His mill is closed and at last unable longer to give his son food enough to really nourish him, he has sent him to a relative in another part of France.

So it is with so many and all are equally worthy.

I am going back, in a short time, to France to see again as many as possible of those I nursed and cared for and I am anxious, if possible, to gather a small sum of money on which I can draw to give families necessities and the children clothing and the sick care. I, myself, have been able only to see that certain children at least had milk.

Anyone who may be interested may be sure that every cent given will go to some worthy need and I shall myself visit all and know their needs before spending.

Money or checks may either be sent to my brother, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, at the Community Church, New York City, or direct to me at my address:

7 Concord Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.

My thanks and gratitude I express now to any who may feel like contributing their mite for those I know are worthy and deserving of immediate help.

Sincerely yours,
ALICE MARION HOLMES.

The Equitist Plan

Dear Editor:

It is not difficult to see the signs of reaction getting intrenched around us.

We must take them for granted and look for the usual reflex in the multitude of ideas which come to the surface, put forth to combat the reaction—no mat-

ter what flimsy evidence we have of their expediency.

Herbert Spencer says: "The worse the condition of society the more visionary must a true code of morals appear."

We must not despair, as long as human nature sincerely endeavors to find a way out of its difficulties. We have tried everything except freedom. We must not discourage those who are sincerely working for a better world.

For these reasons—if there are no others, the Equitist Plan of workers' money should have some consideration.

Mr. W. E. Brokaw of Bay View, State of Washington, is an economist with many years of experience in many schools of thought. He is thoroughly conversant with the Single Tax, having lectured for it many years and is quite conversant with the Socialist theory in all its phases.

He has come to the conclusion that our present medium of exchange, which is based on results, is at the bottom of our troubles; because when commodities are exchanged on that basis a price is put upon natural resources. Equitists advocate the obtaining of pure money with a work unit basis in the presence of which idealism and sentiment will not melt.

He is also apprehensive of the Single Tax, inasmuch as it makes little wars, past, present and future and that it makes little difference to the producer whether he works for an individual, Corporation or the State.

He throws out the following question: "What inequity would be possible if every one gave an hour's work in return for every hour's work they received from others? Think it out, then tell us."

Mr. Brokaw's little paper *The Equitist,* published weekly at the small cost of $1.00 per year, is most interesting and filled with close, sound reasoning.

The Equitist Plan is certainly one that should be considered in religion and the future of the Church: because it does seem difficult to understand how there can be any measure of real Christianity or brotherhood upon different rates of pay.

This I know opens a large field of discussion and it appears that at first we must determine whether or not one man's hour is as good as another's.

This looks rather Utopian until we realize that the present inequalities of services rendered to each other or to society are rather marked, but are possibly due to advantages of birth, education or mere chance.

We must also admit that after all, time is the only thing that is common between man and man.

There is more to be said for the advantages that will follow a willingness of mind on the part of the Church members to swap work on an exactly equal basis according to time—leaving the matter of working out the details of the application to the future.

Church members would obviously be known as not wishing to play for position or special privilege and their aim would then be to persuade others to the same point of view without being accused of any ulterior motives whatsoever.

Does it not also look like the carrying out in as definite a way as possible the great admonition "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also so to them"?

Mr. Brokaw proposes by a bill to introduce workers' money based on work performed or the promise to perform it expressed in money terms of $1.00 per hour.

The closest examination of his theory fails to discover how rent, interest, or profit could be possible.

The UNITY readers would do well to subscribe to *The Equitist* and Mr. Brokaw will give any correspondence every consideration with the result that any economist or moralist will have an interesting time following the discussions of the Equitist Plan.

We have all been grumbling long enough about conditions, let us take it for granted (they are very bad, indeed) and give some attention to the Equitist Plan which is constructive at least and takes up new ground and from quite an interesting angle.

Perhaps the Equitist Plan is the long sought for law of human association under which we can preserve individual initiative and private property (based upon act of production) and under which we could have real Co-operation and self-government.

Montreal, Can. CHARLES P. RICE.

THE INQUEST.

O Christian God, that I should live to see
Into the opened grave of History!
This thing that I had thought of once as fair
Is rotting flesh and tell-tale bone and hair;
And where we prated of achievement won
Is nothing but a ghastly skeleton.

Little of beauty is there in the knights,
Gouging each other in their cock-pit fights,
Riding to Palestine on grisly trips
With Jesus Saviour's name upon their lips;
And Peter, Frederick, all the men called Great
Have left how many firesides devastate!

Nor blows there any fragrance in romance
That tells of England's flesh-fields left in France;
The mighty magic of the Bonapartes
Weighs nothing with a million broken hearts;
And even Lincoln is less grand to me
Since traveling from Atlanta to the sea.

So every page has blood-stains in the book,
And nearly every face a guilty look.
Is it then true that this bespattered span
Must be the final history of Man?
Or is it but the wantonness of boys
Who will outgrow some day their brutal toys?

For I am sick at seeing people "freed"
By turning to a murder-soaked stampede,
Calling their leader sanctified today,
Trampling him on the next into the clay,
Invoking Jesus Christ to kill their foes,
And loosing Satan with his thousand woes.

It were less shameful in Apache skin
To wave a belt of scalps amid the din
Than gape in civilized garb around the table
Upon a helmet with a dead man's label;
Or through a newspaper lap alien gore,
And sniff by telegraph the blood of War.

HENRY BAILEY STEVENS.

RESURGAM

I shall arise
From the dark, damp mould, from the silence of the tomb.
But who shall say in what immortal guise?
Some essence in the heliotrope? Some shade
Of color in the tulip? A new note
Of ecstasy in a small woodland throat?
A shaft of sunlight in a darkened room?
Or a young spirit fittingly arrayed
For the court of Heaven? Who can dare to say? . . .
I shall arise. And in His chosen way.

The Christian Century. —*Virginia Craig Howes.*

THE FIELD.

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

A PETITION FOR JUSTICE.

We are told in a recent issue of *The Literary Digest* that:

"A profit of $300 is said to have been realized last year by the State of Ohio on each service man confined in State asylums. If the men had been well cared for, concedes the association of veterans which lately made this report to President Harding, the profit might be excused, but the fact is that the institutions where these men are 'farmed out' are so crowded that many of the men are forced 'to sleep on the floor, like cattle, every night.' Conditions in Ohio, says the report, as summarized by the New York *Times*, are no worse, and in many cases, are better than in those of other States of the Union.

"The President's own state is cited as typical because, the petition runs, 'as an Ohioan, familiar with Ohio institutions,' which are considered to be better equipped for the care of the insane than those of most other States, the President can appreciate the plight of the insane service man throughout the country.

"The petition prepared by the Committee from the Disabled American Veterans of the World War, makes the charge that:

"'Although approximately one-half of the 250 mentally disabled soldiers now in Ohio asylums could be restored to reason by proper medical treatment and hospital care for their mental diseases, these men are given no medical treatment of any kind for their mental diseases, and curable cases are being daily doomed to permanent insanity.

"'That the tubercular and nontubercular patients in these institutions are not separated, but are all mixed together.'

"The petition states that the remedy is simple. 'It is sufficient government hospitals adapted for the treatment of mental cases.'

"The petition asks for more rigid supervision and for government dispensaries where emergency care and treatment can be supplied. It says:

"'We daily build naval and military armaments intended to end life, which in a few years are useless and then scrapped. Why not build hospitals to save life when the need is urgent, even if in twenty years part of these hospitals, like armaments, must be scrapped?'

"The closing sentence reads:

"'Mr. President, in the name of 10,000 young soldiers, sailors and marines who sacrificed their minds for America, we ask that America now give its millions quickly and generously to restore to the thousands who can still "come back." God's most precious gift to man—his reasoning powers. We are certain our appeal will not be in vain.'"

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Published by the
UNITY PUBLISHING COMPANY
Price, 30 Cents **700 Oakwood Boulevard, CHICAGO**
Reprinted from UNITY

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